Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 ISO-00 SR-02 ORM-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASDC 8860

INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

CINCPAC

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY SAIGON

AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE

CONFIDENTIAL MOSCOW 4546

E.O. 11652: SGDS - DECLASS APR 1976

TAGS: PFOR, UR, VN, VS, CB

SUBJECT: SOVIETS ON INDOCHINA DEVELOPMENTS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

1. SUMMARY. IN A CONVERSATION WITH A DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUE, YURI KUZENTSOV, DEPUTY CHIEF OF THE SOVIET MFA'S SOUTHEAST ASIAN DIVISION, PLAYED DOWN HANOI'S OFFENSIVE IN SOUTH VIETNAM BY ATTRIBUTING"LIBERATION" SUCCESSES TO THE COLLAPSE OF SAIGION'S FORCES. KUZNETSOV CONCEDED (WHICH SOVIET MEDIA HAVE NOT) THAT THERE IS A REFUGEE PROBLEM. HE REPORTEDLY ADVOCATED A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT (WITHOUT THIEU, OF COURSE) AND SAID MOSCOW WOULD WELCOME ANY U.S. INITIATIVES. HE ALSO NOTED THE NEED FOR POLITICAL ACCOMMODATION IN CAMBODIA AND DISMISSED SIHANOUK'S IMPORTANCE THERE. END SUMMARY.

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2. ITALIAN EMBASSY COUNSELOR ROMANO CALLED ON EMBOFF ON

APRIL 2 TO DISCUSS SOVIET ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CHANGING SITUATION IN INDOCHINA FOLLOWING HIS CALL ON KUZNETSOV. ACCORDING TO ROMANO, KUZENTSOV GAVE TWO REASONS FOR THE RECENT UNEXPECTED ADVANCES OF THE "LIBERATION" FORCES IN VIETNAM: FIRST, THAT THEY WERE RESPONDING SUCCESSFULLY TO SAIGON'S CONSISTENT VIOLATIONS OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT; AND SECOND, THAT THE ARVN WAS COLLAPSING AND THE "LIBERATION" FORCES WERE IN EFFECT SIMPLY FILLING THE VACUUM. KUZNETSOV NOTED THAT "NOT EVEN THE WESTERN PRESS" HAD MENTIONED MAJOR BATTLES IN THE PAST SEVERAL DAYS BUT HAD HIGHLIGHTED THE CHAOS AND DISARRAY ON THE SAIGON SIDE.

- 3. TO ROMANO'S QUESTION ABOUT THE LARGE NUMBERS OF REFUGEES, KUZNETSOV REPORTEDLY ADMITTED THAT SOME PEOPLE APPARENTLY DO NOT WISH TO LIVE IN THE "LIBERATED" AREAS. HE MENTIONED PRESS REPORTS ABOUT THE SAIGON TROOPS "FORCING" PEOPLE TO LEAVE, BUT AGREED WITH ROMANO'S ASSERTION THAT SUCH A VIEW DOES NOT TRACK WITH THE PICTURE OF TROOPS FLEEING IN DISARRAY. KUZNETSOV ALSO RATIONALIZED THE REFUGEE FLOW AS PEOPLE FLEEING COMBAT AREAS, AND HE SAID THAT THE PRG HAD ESTIMATED THAT ABOUT ONE MILLION PEOPLE HAD LEFT THE REGION RECENTLY TAKEN OVER. KUZNETSOV DID NOT BRING UP THE POINT IN SOVIET/ DRV PROPAGANDA ABOUT THE ALLEGED "WELCOME" WHICH THE PEOPLE OF THESE AREAS WERE SHOWERING ON THEIR "LIBERATORS."
- 4. KUZNETSOV REPORTEDLY STRESSED THAT MOSCOW STILL FAVORED A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OVER CONTINUED MILITARY ACTIVITIES, AND FELT THAT NOW MORE THAN BEFORE THERE WAS A CHANCE TO GET SOMETHING STARTED. THIEU WAS AN OBSTACLE, HE SAID, BUT EVEN THE NON-COMMUNIST OPPOSITION TO THIEU WAS GROWING. HE REFERRED TO THE PRG STATEMENT OF LAST OCTOBER ON THE CONDITIONS FOR A SETTLEMENT, INCLUDING THIEU'S REMOVAL, AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSIONS. ROMANO ASKED ABOUT REPORTS OF A U.S. INITIATIVE FOR A SETTLEMENT, TO WHICH KUZNETSOV REPLIED THAT HE WAS NOT AWARE OF ANY SUCH MOVE BUT THAT MOSCOW WOULD WELCOME ONE. ROMANO NOTED THAT KUZNETSOV MADE NO NEGATIVE COMMENTS ON THE U.S. ROLE IN VIETNAM OR CAMBODIA.

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5. ON CAMBODIA, KUZNETSOV REPORTEDLY SAID THAT MOSCOW STILL PREFERS A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. EVEN IF PHNOM PENH FALLS, HE SAID, THE VICTORS WILL STILL HAVE TO REACH SOME SORT OF ACCOMMODATION WITH THOSE WHO SUPPORTED LON NOL. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE "SEVEN TRAITORS" PREVIOUSLY NAMED BY SIHANOUK HAD ALL LEFT THE COUNTRY NOW. WHEN ROMANO NOTED THAT SIHANOUK HAD JUST PUT OUT

A NEW AND LONGER LIST, KUZNETSOV DISMISSED THE PRINCE'S TACTICS SCORNFULLY, SAYING THAT SIHANOUK WAS UNPREDICTABLE, UNRELIABLE AND OVERLY EMOTIONAL. "IF YOU BASE YOUR JUDGMENTS ON WHAT HE SAYS," ROMANO QUOTED KUZNETSOV AS SAYING, "YOU WILL BE MISLED." HIS SOLE FUNCTION IN A SUCCESSOR REGIME, KUZNETSOV WENT ON, WOULD BE TO SERVE AS A RALLYING POINT WITHIN THE COUNTRY AND AS A FIGUREHEAD ABROAD. THE PRINCE, HE SAID, IS BETTER KNOWN THAN THE OTHER LEADERS, SO HE WILL HAVE A USEFUL BUT LIMITED ROLE TO PLAY.

- 6. CONCERNING THE SOVIET MOVE TO CLOSE THE GKR EMBASSY, KUZNETSOV REPORTEDLY SAID THAT IT HAD BEEN ARRANGED "BY MUTUAL CONSENT." HE POINTED OUT TO ROMANO THAT THE GKR DIPLOMATS WERE NOT BEING "EXPELLED."
- 7. SOVIET MEDIA TREATMENT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA TRACKS WITH KUZNETSOV'S LINE, BUT WITH A STRONGER EFFORT TO ABSOLVE HANOI OF ANY BLAME AND WITH MORE NEGATIVE COMMENT ABOUT THE U.S. ROLE. ON VIETNAM. AN IZVESTIYA COMMENTARY (APRIL 1) BY BASILYEV SPOKE OF THE ADVANCES OF THE LIBERATION FORCES IN THE WAKE OF PANIC AND CHAOS BY THE SAIGON FORCES, ALLEGED SAIGON AND U.S. VIOLATIONS OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT, REPLAYED THE CHARGE THAT 26,000 AMERICANS WERE IN SOUTH VIETNAM, CLAIMED THAT THE DRV AND PRG HAD CONSISTENTLY ABIDED BY THE AGREEMENT AND NOTED PRG OPPOSITION TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST U.S. C-5S BRINGING WEAPONS TO SAIGON. A PRAVDA COMMENTARY BY FILIPPOV (MARCH 30) SPOKE OF OPPO-SITION TO THIEU, OF CORRUPTION AND ECONOMIC HARDSHIP IN SOUTH VIETNAM. AND OF THE FEELING THAT THE REGIME HAD NO FUTURE. ON CAMBODIA, SOVIET MEDIA HAVE REPORTED LON NOL'S DEPARTURE. PORTRAYING IT AS A SIGN OF DISSARRAY CONFIDENTIAL

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AND PANIC IN PHNOM PENH. BY CONTRAST TWO RECENT COMMENTARIES FROM HANOI (IZVESTIYA, MARCH 29; PRAVDA, APRIL 1) HAVE DESCRIBED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN NORTH VIETNAM IN A SETTING OF NORMALCY, THUS IMPLYING THAT NORTHVIETNAM IS NOT INVOLVED IN THE FIGHTING TO THE SOUTH AND SOUTHWEST.

STOESSEL

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